

ART. III.—*Collection of Facts which may be useful for the comprehension of ALEXANDER THE GREAT'S exploits on the Western Banks of the Indus (with map).*

By M. A. COURT, *Ancien Eleve de l'Ecole Militaire de Saint Cyr.*

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The military achievements of Alexander in the regions which lie between the Indus and the Cophenes form one of the most brilliant episodes of his history.

Those regions at present are known by the name of Yousofzeis, Kooner, Suwat, Dhyr, Bajore, and Moumends. More northward lies Kaffristan, which occupies the southern and northern sides of the gigantic snow-topped chain of mountains which bounds this country to the north, and is but an extension of the Himalayas, and to the west reaches Hindo-Koosh at the Khound, an enormous ridge, the tops of which are flat, and almost perpetually covered with snow, a circumstance which renders it observable at a great distance: there are likewise visible the banks of the Indus, from which it is about eighty koss distant.

Those regions are bounded on the east by the Indus, on the south by the river of Cabul, which is no other but the Cophes or Cophenes of the Greeks, placed by Arrian at the eastern extremity of Paropamis, and the source of which Pliny collocates in the north western part of this mountainous province, assigning its course eastward, and stating that after its confluence with the Choes near Nyssa, it falls into the Indus to the south west of Taxila below Ambolima (probably *Amb*)—data that perfectly combine with the Cabul river, which I have described in my journey through Affghanistan. This name Cophes, by which it was known to the historiographers of antiquity, seems to have been given it by the Greeks, who may have derived it from *Cophenes* who perhaps then governed the country it washes in the name of his father Artabazus, whom Alexander had appointed prefect of Bactria. This is at least what induced Arrian to adopt the above opinion, who relates that Alexander was accompanied, on his arrival at the banks of the Indus, by Cophes and Assagetes, ὑπαρχοὶ or *sub-rulers* of the province situated to the west of that river. Or perhaps it is the name which it originally bore, and from a corruption of which the Mahometans formed the word *Kaffristan*.

This vast extent of mountainous country is very little known to Europeans. The geographical details which Quintus Curtius gives of it are too succinct, and it is a matter of much regret, that the veracious

Arrian has been incomparably dry, when treating this subject. Add to this the disastrous conquests of the Mahometans, who spread throughout trouble and confusion, besides the custom that prevailed, wherever the Greeks of Alexander's army were to be found, of changing the names of the places which they traversed, and we must unavoidably conclude that it is no easy task for a traveller to discern true from false.

Among the Oriental works (that treat on this subject) we have only the commentaries of Baberch on which we can rely for exact information. The few modern travellers extant are vague and uncertain. Those regions would procure for any European who would survey them, the glory of throwing a brilliant light on Alexander's march, and of enriching science with hitherto unknown facts relative to the Bactrians; in as much as they are overspread with ruins, cupolas, and inscriptions, all referring to those conquerors, and attributed by their actual inhabitants to the Caffrans. They are alluded to by the Chinese Religious, who traversed those countries in the commencement of the 7th century of our era, and whose manuscript exists in the Oriental Library of France. But whatever European may undertake a similar journey, must expect to encounter numberless dangers, and almost insurmountable obstacles from the barbarity of the tribes who inhabit them, and above all from the jealousy of the chiefs, who, naturally suspicious, are always inclined to form sinister judgments of the projects of any stranger who travels through their district. This was the lot of Dr. Henderson, who desirous of crossing those regions to repair to Badakchan, although he was disguised as a fakeer, and had a perfect knowledge of Persian, was seized, stripped, and beaten, for having put his foot in Suwat, and was compelled to return to Peshawur, where I had the good fortune to attend him. Subsequently I myself having become intimate with the chiefs of those regions, had cherished some hope of being enabled personally to explore them; but unfortunately the rank I hold in the army of the Maharajah of Lahore occasioned them so much terror, that they imagined that my researches, far from being actuated by curiosity and an interest for science, were only directed to explore the country, so as to facilitate its conquest by Runjeet Sing. I was thus constrained by their earnest remonstrances to abandon my intention of undertaking such a journey, and to content myself with having recourse to the people of Peshawur to survey secretly the country, so as to acquire some knowledge of its geography.

The items which I have had here transcribed in Persian were collected by them, and I only give them publicity in order to fix the attention of the geographers and archæologists who may happen to come hither after me, and to facilitate thereby the combination of modern

with ancient geography. I may possibly avail myself of these materials hereafter, to furnish a complement to my conjectures on Alexander's marches through Bactria.

The country which I am about to describe, is intersected by three principal rivers, viz. the Khonar, the Penjecooré, and the Suwat.

The first directs its course S. S. W. along the southern side of the snowy chain above alluded to, dividing Caffristan from the cantons of Bajore and Dhyr, and after rolling its impetuous waters through a bed strewn with rocks, wherein it would be difficult to meet any sand, it falls into the Cabul river, almost opposite the city of Jellalabad. I know not where it rises; some place its source in Cachgar, which it intersects. The proximity of the snowy chain, and the direction of the river's course, denote that it must necessarily have more than one influx. During the liquefaction of the snow it acquires so great a volume of water that it cannot be crossed but on rafts. This river, as I have stated in my memoirs, is denominated *Sind* by the Kaffrees who inhabit its banks, and *Khonar* by the Affghans, a name borrowed from a town that is the capital of a canton or district situated on its western bank, between Jellalabad and Bajore. Some travellers improperly give it the name of *Khameh*.\* This may be possibly the *Choes* of Arrian, which Alexander coasted on his march to *Suastus*, to which his troops may have given the name of *Choes*, a corruption probably of that of *Cheva*, a canton situated at its confluence with the Cabul river, which may have anciently given its name to this river, as the town of Khonar gave its own. As the Greeks sometimes translated the names of foreign places, and liked to call them by particular ones somehow connected with the traditions they indiscriminately adopted, they may possibly have *baptized* with the name of *Choes* one of the rivers of those regions, in memory of the festival of *Choes* (Χόες) or of the libations which the Athenians celebrated in the month of Anthesterion in honor of Bacchus, and which they also styled Ἀνθεστήρια.

After what Strabo relates, we would be led to suppose that the river in question is his *Choaspes*, which disembogues, according to him, into the *Cophenes*.

The Penjecooré rising in Ghilghit, flows between the Khonar and the Suwat: its direction is from north to south. It is called *Penjecooré* because it is formed from the union of *five* other rivers, viz. the Tal, the Laori, the Awchiri, the Neag, and the Jindé; the first of which is the most considerable of the five. Besides those influents, it receives

\* This river is marked "*Kama R.*" in Tassin's map.

several others of inferior note, such as the Berravol and the Caron ; the latter intersects the district of Penjecooreé between the Awchiri and the Suwat.

The river of Penjecooreé is the most considerable in those regions next to that of Cabul ; hence I have to say of this also, that during the liquefaction of the mountain snows it cannot be crossed but with rafts. Without being very deep its current is extremely rapid, and its bed is so sown with rocks and slippery stones, that of ten persons that wade it when its water is low, half are sure to stumble. After leaving Dhyr until its confluence with that of Suwat, it is known by the name of Penjecooreé, and thence, until its union with the Cabul river, by that of Suwat.\* I am inclined to think that it is the *Guræus* of the Greeks.

Respecting the Suwat, I am at present unable to speak of it, being occupied at this very moment in getting its source explored. The Hindoos only know it by the name of *Sihon pedra nadi*. The latter is undoubtedly the *Soobah Vastoo* of the Chinese Religious, and the *Suastus* of Ptolemy. I would have it here observed, that the Suwat and Penjecooreé rivers are frequently confounded with one another by the inhabitants themselves of lower Yousoufzeis, because they mix their streams before they disembogue into the Cabul river, i.e. the Cophenes. This mistake only takes place below their confluence, which occurs at the point of Goozar Mamani, situated six or eight koss from the ruins of Talache, in as much as above it they retain their distinct denominations.

The Suwat is indisputably the *Suastus* of Arrian, on which Alexander sailed after coasting the Choës.

Of a vast number of ruined cities which those regions present to one's view, those that most deserve the attention of geographers and archæologists are the following :—

1st. The ruins of *Talache*, situated between the confluence of the Penjecooreé and the Suwat. In the midst of these massy and immense ruins exists an enormous cupola, of much more elaborate architecture than other monuments of that description, because it is said to support around its base a number of *basso relievos*.

2nd. The ruins of *Berikoot*, attributed to the Caffre Béri, on the eastern side of the Suwat, not far from the city of Manglore, or Mangar, near which is the cupola of Chinguerdar, attributed to Abou-Padsha, and equally remarkable with that of Talache. A beaten

\* "*Lundy river*" of Tassin. The "*Penjecooreé R.*" of M. Court has no representative in Tassin.

track through a rock leads to those ruins which are delineated on the back and top of the mountain. Farther on, on the same grounds, are those of Hira and Badakhel: the latter, being the vastest of all, are assigned to Doomma Padsha.

3rd. The ruins of the city of *Aritchend*, improperly denominated *Artchend* by the Mahometans. They are observable on a height environed on all quarters by deep ravines. They are eighteen koss north of Peshawur, and six east of Fengui. They are attributed to the Kaffrans, and may possibly be the *Arigæum* of the Greeks, which was razed by them, and whose advantageous position induced Alexander to order Craterus to demolish its walls. To the west of these ruins, and on the western bank of the Suwat and Penjecoore united, lie those of Khound, which reach down to the river.

To the north of Aritchend are the ruins also of *Sakout*, where the impression of a foot is visible, and those of *Diguer*, situated on the southern side of mount Malekan. To the south of Aritchend are also observable those of *Radjer*, or *Razor*, of *Seidabad*, and *Kalader*: they are attributed to the Caffre Farikhi.

4th. We cannot consider with equal attention the ruins of *Béhi*, attributed to the Rajah Verrat, which according to the inhabitants of the place were the former sojourn of the monarchs of that country. They lie to the north east of the present city of *Achnagar*, and are situated on the level of mount *Béhli*, insulated as it is, in the centre of the immense plain of *Yousoufzeis*. There are visible there, it is said, grand traces of massy walls, some *basso-relievos*, and the ruins of a subterraneous aqueduct, (which conveyed thither the water of the *Penjecoore*) after leaving the ruins of *Radjer* situated close to *Achnagar*. Directing your course thence towards *Booner* you meet, at twelve koss distance, mount *Mahram* which contains also some ruins, and may probably be the *Meros* of *Arrian*, which Alexander ascended with all his army after taking possession of *Nyssa*, by our geographers supposed to be identical with *Achnagar*. But what destroys this probability is, that the district the Macedonians recognised with jubilee is not discoverable in those parts, and cannot be traced out, but in a more northern latitude beyond the *Malekan* ridge. I must however here remark, that there are several mountains in those regions called *Mahram*, and among the rest one in *Bajore*, and another at *Cashmeer* close to the city.

5th. The ruins of *Meidan*, where a rather unimportant inscription has been reported to me to exist, merit not to pass unnoticed, in consequence of their extent and proximity to the *Penjecoore*. The same must be said of those of *Ganchal*, situated in the canton of *Tal*, three days journey north east of *Meidan*, and twelve koss from *Dhyr*, as well as

from the castle of Soun, observable to the south of the river Awchiri, and containing lead mines in its vicinity.

6th. The ruins of *Doomma*, situated on a very lofty mountain, whence the surrounding country is discernible; those of Dankool are a little further up. Those cities bear the names of the monarchs that founded them, and are situated in the eastern part of the Yousoufzeis, not far from the Indus.

7th. I shall draw attention in the last place to the ruins that are two koss to the west of the present town of Dhyr, and which are assigned to the Kaffrans, who were dispossessed of them by the Mahometans, when that city was governed by the Caffer Kirkat. These merit that the greatest attention should be paid to them by travellers, in as much as, after the relations of Kazan Khan, chief of Dhyr, and on account of the combination of the latter name with the *Dyrta* of Arrian, I have scarcely any doubt on my mind that this is the city which Alexander passed, when he was pursuing the brother of Assacanus, and whence he set out for the Indus. If my opinion could be borne out, with such a cue it would be extremely practicable to determine the true positions of Ora, Bazira, Massaga, and other places mentioned by the above historian, concerning which I have been unable to obtain any precise information, notwithstanding the thorough researches I have made. Nevertheless I shall observe that the Hindoos of those districts assured me, that a city called Massangar, known also by the name of Maskhiné, exists on the southern frontier of Kaffristan, close to Baba Kara, twelve koss from Bajore, and four from mount Mahram, which is in that canton. They also added that the tribe called *Assacenis* exists in that country. If such a relation were well-founded, we should discover there the Massaga of the Greeks, the capture of which cost so much blood to Alexander, and the massacre of whose intrepid garrison cast a blemish on the exploits of that conqueror. I am not aware if this Massangar be identical with the one alluded to by Forster, who travelled through Suwat.

I have been similarly assured that there exist in the district of Booner the traces of a town called *Oora*, which has been also denominated *Doora*, and which on account of its proximity to the Indus may probably be the Ora of Arrian, (although Bazira has not been yet discovered in its vicinity) especially as that river is not known higher up, but by the name of *Ab Sind*, whence it may be conjectured, with some probability, that the country it washes in that part may have been the region of that Abissares, on whom our historians waste so many hypotheses, and who, according to Arrian, sent resources to Ores, when Alexander was besieging that city. *Apropos* of Abissares, I do not deem it here

superfluous to remark that there is a mountain two days' journey N. of Dhyr, by name *Ser-Adkamoos-Ouré*, situated on the route leading to Badakchan, a region near which is a place called *Hissar*. This latter word in Hindee signifies a *fortress*, whence the present city of Achtnagar is also known by the name of *Hissar*.

I had also had scrupulous researches made concerning the *Aornos*, but with similar mal-success. Alluding to this rock, I have already observed in my journey through Affghanistan that a similar mount presents itself (with all the peculiarities described by Arrian) in the canton of *Naoghi*, near Bajore, where the vestiges also exist of a city named *Ambar*, which is probably the *Ambolima* of Ptolemy, placed by him on the lower branch of the Choes or Cophenes.

The persons I commissioned to explore the country about Dhyr reported to me, that in the canton of Laori, near that of Dhyr, there exists a mountain corresponding in all its particulars with the *Aornos*. Others have assured me that there is a similar one in the canton of Booner, a region, like all the rest of Yousoufzeis, interspersed with insulated mountains, whither the inhabitants take refuge in case of imminent danger, and which, considering the proximity of the city of Amb, capital of a canton situated on the Indus, renders such an opinion sufficiently probable. I must also subjoin, that beyond the territory *Mola Goori*, situated below the confluence of the *Penjecooré* and the *Suwat*, to the west of both those rivers united, a mountain is observable called *Salata*, and\*also named *Azarno*, which on account of its insulated position and elevated form, resembling a flattened or headless cone, may be easily taken for the *Aornos*. This mount is quite perceptible from Peshawur, behind the defile of Fengui, as its summits far surpass the Malekan ridge. I shall also observe that on mount Guendeguer, to the N. E. of Azerou, places situated to the east of the Indus, there is the fort of *Serikoot*, a name bearing a striking resemblance to that of *Sisicotte*, to which Alexander confided the garrison of *Aornos*. The former is a renowned stronghold of those regions, having cost the Seiks a great deal of blood, and being the place whither the inhabitants of the surrounding countries resort for shelter in cases of peculiar peril.

After surmises of this sort, we must infer that it is extremely difficult to know which opinion to embrace, especially as the ancient historians themselves are not agreed on this important point, which constitutes one of the most brilliant of Alexander's exploits. Arrian collocates *Aornos* near *Bazira*; Strabo towards the sources of the Indus; and Quintus Curtius on the banks of that river. With reference to the latter opinion, I would observe, that a rock exists opposite

Attòk, with all the peculiarities described by him, on a mountain that is topped by a castle, attributed to Rajah Hody. It cannot be ascended but on the side of the Indus, by a steep passage hewn through the rock, and enclosed by two walls of defence, running up zig-zag according to the protuberances of the mount. The space immured by those walls is filled with ruins of habitations gradually rising from the brink of the river up to the castle. Those works are all entire, and have the appearance of great antiquity. The three heights whereon Alexander sacrificed to the gods still exist, but I must avow that no arable ground or spring can be discovered. There are only two reservoirs built by the vizier of Zamenchah. The heights are at present occupied by small forts defended by the *Mazbis*, an Indian sect in the service of the Maharajah of Lahore.

Of the great number of cupolas existing in those regions I shall distinguish the following :—

1st. That of Talache, which I have already alluded to, and the five or six others that are discoverable not far from those ruins, in the defile that leads from the Suwat to the Penjecooré.

2nd. That of Chinguerdar, situated between the ruins of Berikoot and the town of Manglore. Another is observable more to the southward.

3rd. That of Charbag, present capital of Suwat.

4th. Those that exist among the ruins of Sedougan, to the east of Manglore.

5th. Those of Berikoot, situated near the village of Nakmira.

6th. That of Charkootliá, fifteen koss to the east of Aritchend, as well as that near the ruins of Seidabad. The latter is as large as that of Chinguerdar.

7th. That of Sepel-banda, near the village of Khari, and as large as that of Chinguerdar.

8th. Those of Heniapoor, one of which is near the village of Fooraseuk, and the other under mount Jaffer.

9th. That near Sonigheran.

10th. The two existing on the ruins situated at the foot of mount Sookker, near the village of Riga.

11th. Those in the villages of Fakttahind and Caboolgheram.

12th. Those, in fine, of Chammely, situated on the top of a mountain.

All those massy cupolas which I am describing, are in the Yousoufzeis territories, by which is meant all the territory comprised between the Indus and Penjecooré, from the snowy chain to the lower branch of the

Cabul river, viz. the Cophenes, and which includes Yousoufzeis proper, Booner, upper and lower Suwat, Penjecooré, and the dependencies of Dhyr.

Remarkable places being points that may serve for comparative geography, as well as rivers and mountains, I shall select the following for observation :—

1st. The cave Cashmeer Ghar, situated in the territory of the Baboozeis, on a mountain which cannot be ascended but by a steep passage, hewn in a great measure out of the rock. This place is also called Pelley, and is sixteen koss from the town of Soukhor. The cave is said to be of an immeasurable depth, and to have so large an aperture, that it is impossible to discern the direction by casting in a stone. As both sides of the entrance are of solid masonry, and the front is encumbered with enormous cut stones, one would imagine that it is one of the subterraneous temples attributed to the Pandoovans, or to the Caffers. At present it is a place of shelter for myriads of wood-pigeons. Quite close to it are visible the traces of a town or castle, whence idols are sometimes dug up; a basin also is observable there continually supplied with water. I had been assured that an inscription was discoverable, but my men could trace out none whatever. I am not aware if this cave be identical with that of Roostam, to which I have alluded in my description of Yousoufzeis.

2nd. The sandy cave of Dekia, situated at the foot of mount Ghardoom in the district of Dhyr, on which there are the traces of a town.

3rd. The Khial cave, near the ruins of Meidan, in the canton of Bajore.

4th. The vast basin that exists on mount Bikary, to the west of Dhyr, being a place of pilgrimage for the Hindoos, who give out that their *Pir* disappeared on that spot.

5th. The basin situated to the east of Dhyr in the district of Tal, where a fire exists under a cupola maintained from time immemorial, and kept up at present by a Guebrian woman.

6th. Lake Mansoroor in Bajore, situated on a mountain fifteen koss from Bendy Berravol, which is continually supplied with water in consequence of the perpetual snow.

7th. Mount Hilo, situated in Yousoufzeis, by the Mahometans denominated *Hilum Pilum*, and by the Hindoos *Ramtakt*. This place is much frequented by the latter, who perform an annual pilgrimage thither during the month of April, in memory of Rajah Ramtchend. Those Hindoos likewise make the pilgrimage of Chamra, situated near Ootchan, country of the Samoozeis

